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607 584 kafuk at one time, since his older brother had recently indulged in that bit of ostentatious financing. As Senlaka said, "They made me ashamed. It is not as though I were not an orphan. Now it has been three weeks since I have been to their house." In the meantime Senlaka had tried to [431] placate his future affinal kin by furnishing at different times ten piglets as free gifts (*pungbe*).

426 686 During these negotiations Senlaka was trying his best to force Maliseni to make the promised repayment on the moko he had lent him and Maliseni was putting him off with promises. Maliseni said that he had to wait until a man in a distant village gave a death feast, at which time he would receive payment on an outstanding obligation. Feasts are always held much later than the promised date, so only after much delay did Senlaka finally think he was to get the promised moko. When Maliseni returned, however, he "spoke nicely" to Senlaka, saying that unfortunately another creditor had insisted upon being paid but that if Senlaka could give him an additional moko, he, Maliseni, could repay both of them with an even higher valued moko that he expected to receive soon. Senlaka was furious. In telling me the whole story he said, "Here older men just try to cheat the young ones. It is a lot of trouble to get married here. Countries where there are no gongs and mokos and where you don't have to buy a wife are better."

In the interim another man heard of Senlaka's difficulties and said that if Senlaka would litigate for the return of his original moko—which would mean abandoning the hope of interest—a better deal could be arranged. When Senlaka broached the matter to Maliseni, the latter tried to dissuade Senlaka on the plea that such a procedure would shame him. Senlaka, however, stood firm and finally Maliseni returned a moko worth the original loan. After four months Senlaka was ready to start all over again with the help of another and, hopefully, more trustworthy older man.

584 In discussing the relationships involved, Senlaka admitted that the girl's two older brothers were inclined to press him less hard than her youngest brother and her mother. When I questioned him about the girl's attitude, his first answer was the traditional one, namely, that she stayed out of the family bickerings. Finally he admitted that she had told her brothers that if she could not marry Senlaka she would ask the kapitan for a tax bill. This was a way of saying that she would ask to have masculine status, that she would marry no one, and that her brothers would receive no bride-price on her at all. In view of the fact that theoretically, and often actually, a woman caught in such conflicts is expected to support the financial interests of her kinsmen as opposed

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punging his shame by challenging his accusers to "kalukek." He did this [695]
by procuring from a friend a three-dollar pig for which he paid the 681
excessive price of a five-dollar moko, after his friend had gone through 627
a ceremonial dunning procedure (*naluel, nobuor;* literally, follow me, call to me). Then he went to the two kinsmen of the girl with a group of supporting relatives who bore ceremonial spears and horns. They stood on the dance place and shouted challenge, demanding that the three-dollar pig be paid for with a six-dollar-and-fifty-cent moko. This was finally paid to Mangma so that ultimately he received one dollar and fifty cents as a fine for the insult leveled at him. This was not pure [602]
profit since he had to pay his allies a series of six graded payments for their support.

Refusal to meet such a challenge and pay the exorbitant price de- [558]
manded for a pig so presented is a source of shame and an admission of financial defeat comparable, on a smaller scale, to that of a wealth contest. As in a wealth contest such a procedure does not result in any financial gain to the winner. In fact, the winner is apt to lose in the long run because of his obligations to supporters. Profit, more than [183]
reciprocity or potlatching, is the ideal of Alorese economy. Formerly only the breakdown of the profit system led to either of the other two systems of financial manipulation. This may explain why they were and are so rarely used and why litigation was so rapidly accepted once [177]
it was introduced. During the eighteen months in Atimelang only one case of the old kalukek system occurred. This was the outgrowth of a quarrel between two brothers who had exchanged wives. The younger brother was an unwilling partner in the exchange and gave his new wife to a friend who in turn offered him refuge against his older brother. The two friends lived together for a time but fought over the possession of the woman. There was a litigation in which the friend and the runaway brother were judged equally guilty. Instead of a fine, the chief ordered both men to be tied up for a day. The friend was so incensed at the duplicity and so shamed by the punishment that he began kalukek proceedings against the younger brother, who had meanwhile taken his wife and returned to his own village, where he made peace with his older brother.

WAR

It is quite obvious that there might be occasions where the hard deal- 686
ing and chicanery openly admired in Atimelang finances reach a point 627
that drives certain individuals to physical violence and murder. This in [721]
turn often precipitates war. Once under way, a war can drag on for years in a series of retaliations, which are also given their financial col-

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686 627 orings. The case of hard dealing in connection with a debt mentioned on page 67, which led to the theft of a child and from there to the taking of a head, is an illustration of such a situation. Refusal to meet obligations may also lead to threats of burning the debtor's house. In about 1927 Padata the Leper set fire to Maliseni's house because Maliseni refused to pay him a moko worth seventeen dollars and fifty cents. The whole village burned to the ground, and in addition to the destruction of property through fire there was wholesale pilfering of chickens, corn, rice, and piglets in the course of the confusion. Perhaps one of the [674] best indexes of human and property relationships in Atimelang is that such disasters as a fire are occasions for pilfering by the very people who come to assist. In still another case financial hard dealing and insult between brothers precipitated a murder. It is referred to in passing in both Tilapada's and Kolmani's autobiographies. For the light it throws on a number of facets of Atimelang temperament it is worth giving here in detail.

578 627 686 Langmai owed a debt to Fanpeni, his young unmarried cousin, and Fanpeni came one evening to dun him. Langmai did not invite him to enter the house and eat. He added insult to injury by referring to Fanpeni's unmarried status and by dilating on the pleasures he himself had in sleeping with his own wife. Fanpeni sulked all night on the verandah below the house. The next morning Langmai and his wife left the house without paying any attention to Fanpeni, who was by then in a murderous mood. The wife's younger sister stayed behind to care for the children. In the course of the morning she went off to fetch water. Fanpeni waylaid her and cut her throat. He then ran off to a village so distant that it was not considered practicable to follow him.

Berkama, an uncle of Fanpeni, feared retribution and left for a near-by village. The dead girl's kin sent word that if he stayed away they would consider it a sign that he approved of his nephew's act. Berkama feared this was a ruse to lure him back to Atimelang in order to murder him, but finally when his wife's powerful cousin offered to take him and his family under personal protection, he consented to return. The matter blew over for the time being.

684 578 627 Meanwhile the daughter of Berkama's sister married a man from Manetati whose brother too was married to an Atimelang woman. This other Atimelang woman ran away from her husband, lived with another man in the vicinity, and finally returned to her own village.

One day Berkama's sister, mother of the first girl married in Manetati, went to visit her daughter, accompanied by her nephew, the twelve-year-old son of Berkama. The deserted husband shot the child simply

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[I asked whether she knew her husband at the time he brought a gift to her uncle's death feast. See Lomani's story on March 12.] No, I had never seen him before. [Did you want to marry him?] Djetmani wanted to marry me. His kinsman Lakamau came to stay with him one night, and Djetmani said, "I have a woman, but someone else has hidden my shawl [meaning that Maliemai, who later became his first wife, was in love with him and wanted to marry him], so you had better marry Lomani. We shall go and get a pig for her uncle's death feast, and you can have her." Then they went together to Rualkameng and got the pig and brought it here. They went to Fanlang and asked what he thought. Fanlang called me and asked me if I was willing. I said it was all right. I said my uncle was the one who would have got my bride-price, and if Lakamau wanted to give a pig for his death feast, it was all right with me. So I went to him. He never paid a bride-price or received a dowry before his death. [This was qualified in the next day's story. Here was an account of a cheap marriage, both for the man, who got a wife with only the gift of a pig for a death feast, and for the woman's kin, who were rid of an orphaned female without a dowry. This does not mean that later bride-price and dowry exchanges were wiped out, but the arrangement made it obvious that the marriage was a poor one, not a money-making investment.]

March 16, 1939

[Again I asked for dreams. Lomani said she had none, so I told her where she left off yesterday. There was a long pause. She seemed each morning to have difficulty in starting. Hoping to start her talking on the sibling about whom she seemed so reticent, I asked whether her sister Kawaimani was already married when she herself married.] No, Kawaimani was not married. [Why not?] She was all wounds—her legs, hands, and face. [Where was she living?] She lived in the little house that mother built at Kamangmelang. [All alone?] Yes, but Matinglang and Letlani had a house right next to hers. [She again came to a full stop. The interpreter here interfered and told her to talk more.]

When we made Manimai's Hevelakang feast, Maitama and Cornelius [two sons of Manimai, who were about her own age] gave me a pig and corn to take to Lakamau. The corn was for Lakamau's mother. His mother was harvesting corn when we went. Maitama and Cornelius went to Rualkameng with me. When they left to return, I stayed and helped my mother-in-law with the corn. After a long time Lakamau didn't pay a bride-price, so the chief of Atimelang and his younger

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X159 brother, Atamai, came and said I had better return with them. They
686 took me back, but on the way I ran away from them and hid in the
grass. They couldn't find me and turned back to Rualkameng and told
my husband he would have to pay, since I didn't want to leave and he
had already taken my heart. The chief sat and sat in the sun [an em-
barrassing dunning procedure]. Then my husband promised that if they
came back in five or six days he would have something for them. In five
or six days they didn't come back. Lakamau had already got a Kolmale
X159 moko, so he said we had better take it to my kin. We took it to Mai-
tama [instead of to the more distant kinsman, the chief of Atimelang,
who had less right to it]. Maitama shot a hen and gave us some corn
and rice, which we took back to my mother-in-law. So I stayed on and
on until I was pregnant and gave birth to Wolmo. Before she could
crawl her father died. [Pause. I asked how her husband died.]

My husband wasn't sick, but he kept going and going until his body was thin and his bones stuck out. At that time people were calling a Good Being at Lakfui. Mopada was doing it. All the people went to drink the water of the Good Being in order not to die. Lakamau went too. When he came back to Rualkameng, they said his body was thin because the evil spirit of Akanfala was following him. There was a dry tree there with a vine growing in it, and the tree had fallen over into Lakamau's garden and he had cut it all up. For this the evil spirit followed him. He planted rice in the field. Even though he drank the water of the Good Being, the evil spirit followed him, and when his rice ripened and it was harvesttime, he died.

X159 At the time my husband died, Atamai, the younger brother of the
768 chief of Atimelang, had come with a pig for the harvest feast. He said
we had better go back together, because there was no one now to pay
my bride-price. My mother-in-law said, "I am still living here. I am a
woman, but I can pay a bride-price for her." So I stayed there. My
mother-in-law said that Fanlang had taken twenty cans of her rice for
a carabao feast and he would pay for it with a moko. We could use the
moko for a bride-price. Fanlang paid with a Maningmauk moko, and
my mother-in-law gave the Maningmauk to Atamai as a bride-price.
X159 Then my mother-in-law called a man of my husband's Female House,
587 also named Atamai. She said, "If you come and stay with us here you
can marry her. But you must live here and you must follow my debts."
So this man came and stayed with us. He slept with me and made a
house. Then after a while he said, "Let us go to my uncle." [This differs
from her account on March 12, in which she implies that she married